

OF ECUADOR

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They go about inhabited places always at night, and 776 although ordinarily they are invisible to the human eye, their presence is known by their blubbering speech, although they can speak intelligibly if they so desire.

That, to the Cayapa mind, the *bt'wilya* still exist and that they are much feared is shown by the following incident. While the guest of one of the Cayapa officials it was the author's custom sometimes to sit for (123) ● hours in the evening conversing with him on various phases of Cayapa life. On one of these occasions, on a pitch-dark night, we were talking merely of the ordinary pursuits of the people. A lighted torch had been placed between us, which precluded the probability of the informant being able to see into the darkness outside the house. Suddenly, in the midst of our conversation, he sprang to his feet, ran over and untied the dog, and sent him down the ladder, while he himself ran to the railing at the side of the house, meanwhile urging the dog on in pursuit of something out in the darkness. He later explained that he had heard the blubbering speech of a *bt'wilya* near the house; he had seen nothing of the spirit and knew of its presence only by the sounds it made, but had hastened to drive it away to keep it from stealing his pigs and chickens which were confined under the house.

These spirits are believed to travel during the day as well as at night, and in case a house is left without occupants they frequently visit it and either carry away the food stored in it or cook it on the spot for the purpose of inhaling the steam and aroma which arise therefrom.

Although it is maintained that the *bt'wilya* do not

Father's el. so. da. /*apunkhwa*/
 Father's so. br. son /*ahpilya*/ w.s., /*ahdilya*/ w.s.
 Mother's br. son's wife /*soya*/
 Husband's fa. el. son /*apipi*/
 Mother's br. son's son /*apioya*/ w.s.
 Father's father's el. son /*apiku*/ w.s.
 Mother's br. so. daughter /*unfunitarukhi*/

Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /*tukipa*/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Isabelle Grande. The party was an afrenda given by Maricito Anapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor operation was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by manipulating and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the gully behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the woman's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the runway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he comforted and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayuga show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mass on the floor, shouted, "/pa/" "feces," whereupon they fled.

If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayuga infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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which brought him to the confined child: the white
 eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it
 from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his
 fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the
 sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease
 increases and his rickety appearance disappears.

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example
 of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in
 cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely
 an element of teasing often enters the picture. An
 illustration, a small child will be offered a candy, which,
 when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Sometimes
 on this effort cry; some children cry; others just sit
 looking frowning. The white seem to enjoy this teasing.
 An impressive example of restrictive behavior presented
 itself one day as a group of Indian women and their
 children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the
 floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory.
 Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it
 to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he
 reached out eagerly for the candy, the woman brought
 her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is reached by the age of five or six years. Both men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Nothing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

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ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

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the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Anapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a bruja for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Milton where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife-- landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of anti-venom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective brujos. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

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spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /ishala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum falls to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:144-152). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Yurac sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, punctuated by the words "negro . . . indio bravo . . . enfermado . . . bravo" that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . . . sickness . . . witch" From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravo were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he pressed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "sunocap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;" on this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "Úra, úra," which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

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patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Kallia, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiestas at Punta Venado in 1959:

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[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]¹⁸³

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /in^{vi}/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /in^{vi}/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfas pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /in^{vi}/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be bruja . . . They removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each bruja, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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ugly to hear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujas were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujas can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujas. The father of Pascasio of Jurupá was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmentalomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, carpentero." (Barrett 1923:113). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisario, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1923, there are apparently three

began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to blather in a loud voice. He would tell the Indians that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic men. Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the mode of dependency drinking are seen and begin to develop.

. . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Stoller 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The mythical Centata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still enter in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Rio Tigra, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Sapallo Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical gringo, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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At the Negro village of Camarunas, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Enrancis Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Sympathetic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no doubt but my decided impression is that pretension increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in these different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa-Cayapa, Cayapa-Negro, and Cayapa-White.

... anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1963:347).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--such men as the Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance of

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of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who could persistently and dogmatically pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayuga flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just now did an informant admit that "some boys" practiced actual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Wapiti boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of shyness are beginning to show that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homosexuality could very easily pass over into homosexuality.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayuga and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Europeans, miles of ritual shyness may strain or a half-fellow-well-not stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayuga situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it could seem that some informants could help unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible transference feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-ethnologist relation does. What I would like to see other informants, or an ethnologist meet, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and perhaps could gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "transference complex" described by Sigmund S. Freud for children in *Psychosexual Development* (1905-06, 1963).

A similar situation was repeated in the matter of going riding in my ancestral home district I went on long trips. For example, because North was asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, finally enough to take account of Diego's condition regarding time. He never arrived at all. When next was to said that I should have called much longer than I did, and to me clearly explained that I had not. In another situation, he came

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Inapilla Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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